

MAN!

"Man is the measurement of everything."



If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought--Let It Crack--WENDELL PHILLIPS

Vol. 8. — No. 4

Administration and Editorial Address:
P. O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Calif.

Los Angeles, Calif., April, 1940

1 (569)

Single Copy 5 Cents

AS YOUTH FACES WAR AND INSECURITY

We are now living through a most critical period in our history. The seething war in Europe threatens at any moment to turn itself into a carnage unequalled by any past wars. And those who are menaced most by this looming devastation do not seem to know where to turn or what to do in order to make the least feeble attempt to prevent the bloody tragedy from taking place.

Youth — that part of manhood which our statesmen are so prone to recklessly throw into the claws of war — has only gone far enough to express its unwillingness to serve as cannon fodder in any European war. A similar position has been taken by the more mature part of our population.

The utter helplessness of our youth and the grown-ups was fully demonstrated on that tragical day last February on the lawn of the White House—as several thousand youths stood in a shivering rain in order to listen to their idol—the President of the United States—F. D. Roosevelt.

Despondent, they stood there listening. They had hoped to hear the President repeat his phrases about "I hate war" and the damnation of "fool's money" coined out of the blood of human beings. Instead of that they heard the President deliver a hymn of hate and a well designed talk for gradually involving us in the European slaughter.

More than anything else, youth came to hear words that would offer them a glimmer of hope, a promise that would put an end to their economic plight and insecurity—carrying on a life of drudgery at the mercy of a governmental dole. Instead, the President could only tell them that the Government is unable to change their plight for the better. No one, he told them, could assure them of even having an opportunity to sell their labors for a wage.

What other answer could the President have expected to receive except one of utter silence and a few hisses?

Downhearted, disillusioned and hopeless—youth walked away from their idol of yesterday—the idol who proved himself to have such pitiful feet of clay.

No sooner had youth assembled in their conclave following this tragical experience with the president when another politician emerged in the assumed role of a new Messiah —Mr. John L. Lewis. The new savior to be thundered forth his harangue of the erstwhile shattered idol whom he himself had helped to build up. In the tradition of the best Tammany Hall politician, Lewis delivered his sinister snarlingly conceived talk. Youth lost itself. It began to applaud the very man who had been the greatest apologist for their idol of yesterday.

Had youth stopped to think long enough to digest and analyze the honeyed words of Lewis it could easily have realized that he offered them exactly the same things that Roosevelt did the day before—empty promises—but never a real solution to the evils from which they suffer.

Little did youth realize that Mr. Lewis was using their plight as a weapon for the achievement of his own political designs. Had they but looked a little closer they would have seen the true political game Mr. Lewis was playing.

Mr. Lewis has broken with President Roosevelt. He no doubt has a well prepared plan to launch a third party with himself as first or second fiddle. That alone accounts for his readiness to let Green head a united organized labor movement that would be bound—as a result of such unity—to aid Mr. Lewis in his political ambitions.

Mr. Green is no mean politician either. He has chosen to take Mr. Lewis's position in the support of Mr. Roosevelt.

The country will, in all present appearances, be bombarded by three major political parties creating the most hysterical misleading campaign ever witnessed. All three parties will promise to keep us out of war and create jobs for everyone. And none of the three will carry out either of the two promises.

In reality, each of the three major parties will directly as well as indirectly serve as contributing fac-

War the Test

It occurs to me that the day will come, and is indeed now here, when the men of today will be judged by their attitude towards the Great War... The Great War has not merely been the test of a man's nobility of character; it has been the test of his devotion to the cause of humanity, to the supreme good of the world. Little enough, as we know, the herd cares for that. But if we want to find out what our would-be spiritual and intellectual leaders are worth, let us search diligently to find out their records during the War. Have they in speech or action encouraged that war? Have they spoken evil of those who fought on the other side? Have they pharisaically asserted their own superior righteousness? Have they like imbeciles accepted the empty catchwords of their politicians? If not, it is well, and we may hold up our heads. But else they are judged, for by their own mouths they are declared foul emanations of the passions of the crowd, Poison Gas made Flesh. It is meet they are branded on the brows with the Mark of the Beast to which they have sold what they call their souls. So all their fellows may know whom they had to thank for the blessings of the Great War. And if they show their gratitude by hardening the muscles of their arms, and gathering all the serpents they can find to make a scourge to lash the backs of these leaders until not one of them is left, perhaps, after all, there might not be less joy on earth.

—Havelock ELLIS, in *Fountain of Life*.

tors in getting us into the European war as well as make it impossible to ever create security for the 13 million unemployed.

Why?

A victory for Roosevelt implies an assured repetition of exactly the same kind of performance (on the war issue) as was enacted by Woodrow Wilson, another great democrat. Proof? Wilson, too, had first sent abroad a "fact finding emissary" — Col. House. He behaved exactly as does Mr. Welles—in utter secrecy. Long after the world war was over we learned that the real mission of Col. House was to make smooth the way in which we were to be dragged into the war in order to safeguard the interests of the House of Morgan. The disclosures just made by the Nazi regime as to the role played by our ambassadors in Poland and in England at the start of the present war give quite an idea as to what is the real mission of so sinister a tool of American financiers as Sumner Welles in carrying out his secret confabs with the leading hangmen and destroyers of human rights in Europe.

If President Roosevelt really entertains pure and clean motives in order to keep us out of war, he would not hold the mission of Welles in the kind of secrecy which he does. He would reveal and place before the people of this country and the entire world his plan for peace.

Under the Wilson administration this country witnessed the worst campaign of red baiting and ruthlessness persecution of radicals of all shades of opinion. This began as soon as Wilson was elected on the promise to "keep us out of war". Immediately he betrayed that promise by dragging us into the war.

President Roosevelt surpasses Wilson by launching his campaign of persecution upon radicals even before we have been dragged into the war. The G-men raids, in the middle of the night, upon volunteers to Loyalist Spain has proved this. Roosevelt's intentions have also been shown by the lawless raids that are now being conducted by the infamous Dies Committee, in collaboration with the G-Men, upon communist headquarters and the seizure of documents and persons found therein.

The re-election of Roosevelt or the election of any other democrat will no more keep us from being dragged into the world war than would the election of any republican candidate.

Let us not fool ourselves. A president of the United States —whoever he may not happen to be or whatever party he should not be representing—is not the servant of the citizenship that believed such fairy tales when casting their ballots. It is now a

known fact that in the last election close to 20 million dollars were spent by both major parties. This huge sum of money was contributed by the financial oligarchy which is a part of the world powers which keep the whole of humanity bound economically and politically. It is their voice which the head of this or any other Government has to heed and obey. This oligarchy reigns and rules invisibly; nevertheless it rules with an iron hand.

It is the very same oligarchy of finance that will never allow a real solution to the economic needs of the country from being put into practice. The introduction of any kind of new machinery that always displaces more and more human labor is viewed by these coopers of profits as a method of increasing their gains. This also explains why their tools—as President Roosevelt or Lewis—declare so plausibly that "no one has a solution" that would insure security to the 13 million unemployed. Were they more honest they would only need to add: no solution is possible either for the elimination of re-occurring wars or for economic crises as long as the people do not realize the need of ridding themselves of this oligarchy.

The election of Mr. Lewis's Third Party (although an impossibility) would and could no more keep us out of war or solve our economic plight than will the election of either a Republican or Democrat to the White House. For Lewis—no less than Mr. Roosevelt—is fully aware as to what purpose and whose interests the institution of Government really serves.

Mr. Lewis is simply attempting to utilize the plight of youth in order to further his political ambitions.

The Communist party, finding itself utterly discredited among the sincere liberal elements of the country, is jumping aboard every movement and seizing upon every issue that offers them an opportunity to take over control—by the simple deceitful method of rubber-stamp-organization voting. The harm they bring to such movements as the fight for civil liberties in which they do not believe, the fight against war for which they openly campaigned until the Union between Hitler and Stalin took place, the fight for a free economic system of production for use without a Government oligarchy—in which they certainly do not believe, all the harm which the Communists bring to any of these fights carried on by sincere elements is of no more concern to them than it is the concern of the Roosevelts, Greens, Lewises and Deweys who continue to mislead and fool a gullible people over and over again.

It therefore behoves the people in general, and youth in particular, to give due consideration to the precarious and jeopardizing situation in which they are placing themselves when giving their trust and support to such sinister politicians as Lewis or the spokesmen of the Communist party. The sooner the people willing to fight for the preservation of civil liberties, to keep us out of any future wars and to solve our economic problems, steer clear of such bad company which can in the end only prove detrimental to the real struggles that it is waging, that much sooner will we witness the ushering in of a New Day—the Dawn of a life happier and more secure than we have ever known until now.

The causes for war, insecurity and destruction of our liberties are all bound up in one parcel. War is a business. So is economic insecurity. So is Government. All three are part and parcel of the system known as Capitalism.

Our problem then is this: How can we best and most speedily rid ourselves of capitalism and all the prop institutions which have been woven around us?

Once we realize the need for discarding the capitalist system we shall easily find methods to bring it about most effectively.

First and foremost, the urgency of our refraining from any further participation in Government and all its schemes and designs which keep us bound to capitalism will present itself. We shall cease to vote or pay taxes to. Once we embark upon such a course all the laws of Government become valueless.

(Continued on Page Two)

RUSSIA'S ACTION IN FINLAND

Samuel Polinov

One fine morning, November 30, to be exact, Comrade Stalin sent out a distressing message that his little Red Army of some 20 million has been mercilessly attacked by Finnish troops and that in reprisal he is forced to open fire upon them as a measure of self-defense.

The world listened breathlessly to the dramatic appeal coming from the Kremlin, and huge carloads of sympathy from every corner of the globe came pouring in for Stalin in this grave hour of stress.

But, as it turned out, this wasn't the whole story yet. The Patriarch of the People's Government in Soviet Union suddenly awoke to the realization that the people of Finland are suffering terribly under the yoke of its capitalist government. Forthwith he recognized a new Finnish government which was hurriedly formed by a comrade Kuusinen, letting it be known to the whole world that henceforth Soviet Union will have no dealings whatsoever with the Oppressors of the Finnish proletariat.

That, of course, was only a precursor to what followed. Stalin wasn't going to play around with a mere puppet government while the proletariat in Finland—not the international proletariat, mind you . . . suffered frightfully under capitalist tyranny. And so the Big Father of the communist tribe sent his red soldiers marching into Finnish territory in a holy mission of liberating the workers from Finnish slavery.

By now, we already know what actually happened in Finland—as if we didn't know before . . . Russia has lost about 300,000 in killed and wounded on the battlefields, and finally, after three and a half months of human slaughter, Stalin was able to dictate a peaceful settlement with the very same government whom he branded capitalist, reactionary and most vicious of all aggressor imperialists.

What has become of the People's government under Kuusinen we don't know. It probably was liquidated by Stalin's firing squads for not informing his generals that the Finnish proletariat will resist with machine guns and hand grenades his uninvited liberators; or, for not apprising his erudite topographers of the 40-below zero climate which freezed to death so many thousands of his Red liberators. The outstanding fact remains that the Proletarian Dictatorship has again entered into friendly relations with the Finnish Government which it repudiated as an enemy of the working class in Finland.

Of course, we weren't so naive to think that Stalin suddenly became so class-conscious as to eat his heart out for the plight of his proletarian brothers in Finland. We know right along that the Soviet regime, after successfully annexing part of Poland and the Baltic provinces, had mapped out a path for further expansion involving the Karelian Isthmus and some other bases in Finland as a precautionary safety-zone against a possible approach to Leningrad by an enemy nation. This is in keeping with imperialistic policy maintained by all governments and Soviet Union is no exception. Stalin simply put on a vaudeville act so his followers would applaud the clever stunts of his performers without taking the trouble of looking behind the curtain . . .

Nobody was fooled. On the contrary, a great majority of those who for many years have entertained sympathetic leanings towards the Soviet Republic, even to the point of condoning executions and slavery which are far more severe than under the Czarist regime, have now awakened from their drowsiness to see the Stalinized regime unmasked. They now see before them a band of opportunists, headed by an Ottoman Chief, who have betrayed their own professed ideal to the cause of humanity. The Hitler pact, the ruthless aggression on weaker nations and the chain-slavery under which the Russian workers are subjected has convinced the revolutionary world that the Stalin regime is just another form of organized tyranny, traveling under a fictitious name of Proletarian Dictatorship.

But let us go back to those so-called Communists who are shouting themselves hoarse about the proletarian ideology of the Soviet government. These political opportunists are now staging lively demonstrations in Paris, London and New York, extolling the militaristic ventures of Stalin's regime as a liberating struggle against Democratic imperialism. They,

too, are attempting with acrobatic stunts to cover up the historic treachery of the Stalin-Hitler alliance for territorial conquest. But they will deceive no one. We have learned too well by now of their demagogic tactics to take them seriously. Too often have they tried to whitewash any about-face move by their Great "Marxists" from the socialist principles we should trust their political chicanery.

How long is it since the Communists from Paris to Essex street have worked feverishly for a united front against fascism and nazism? How long is it since they have conducted a vigorous campaign for anti-fascist solidarity among all classes of people, including even the Catholic hierarchy of the Vatican? Only a few months before the infamous Nazi-Communist alliance, there hardly passed a day without the Communist press and platform calling for action—military, if necessary—against this menace to the international proletariat. It was almost a daily occurrence for the "Daily Worker" to attack the Munich deal as a capitalist betrayal. Its pages were seething with bitter condemnation on Chamberlain and Daladier for the "cowardly" surrender to Nazi domination. The Communist scribes almost like one man berated them for not declaring open war on the Nazi regime to save humanity, in particular the toiling masses, from the threat of slavery and concentration camps.

Now that the picture has changed and the two extreme ideologies—Communism and Nazism—which in all these years have so bitterly opposed each other, have become reconciled into a Comm-Nazi alliance; these same "comrades" from Paris and Essex street turned completely around and are now peddling their stuff as a balsamic remedy for the new trend in the Marxian ideology—the cooperation and solidification between marxism and nazism. What

formerly had been German and Italian imperialism is now British and French imperialism. What formerly had been the unanimous cry to stop the war-mongery of Hitler and Mussolini has now turned into a demagogic vociferation that Chamberlain and Daladier (the latter will now have to be changed to Reynaud . . .) are the two war-mongers who are disrupting the peace of Europe.*

Let it be known that there is no intention here to berate the Communists for changing their views on political situations. Far from it. As members of a political organization they have every right to their opinion—even to the extent of trying to persuade others to agree with them. But communism, is proclaimed by those who advocate it as a socialist ideal for the emancipation of the working class of the world. It advocates a social order based on the principles of proletarian dictatorship, holding up the Soviet system as a true example of the promised workers' paradise. For that reason, in the face of Russia's betrayal of the workers' cause, how can they so shamelessly follow the party-line of the Kremlin and still be so arrogantly active in the labor movement? By what right do they continue in the various labor organizations when their so-called "ideal state" has openly abandoned the very cause for which labor carried on centuries of struggle—the cause to live in political and economic freedom?

Moreover, the working class of the world has become so hopelessly disillusioned by the betrayal of Stalin's proletarian system, that it fell back into a kind of apathetic sluggishness, caring little what the future has in store for its liberation. It will probably take centuries of propaganda before they could be reawakened. The example which the class bureaucracy in Soviet Union has set by its national and international policies has completely shattered their morale and made them look with distrust to any of the socialist or even reformist ideologies. Would it not be better for the ideal purpose of marxian socialism** if the Communists should leave the ranks of the working class altogether? No doubt it would . . . And if they were wise enough they ought to do so before the workers who had trusted them disassociate themselves from them in utter disgust and condemnation.

As for the great masses, there is still an open course for them to follow even though their faith in social emancipation coming from a political movement has been shattered. They should not abandon their belief in a free humanity no matter what political force will hinder it. The Marxian socialist experiment, such as the organized system in Soviet Russia, has failed in its purpose insofar as liberating the proletariat from political and economic bondage, but the social problem can still be solved by individual thought and collective effort. To this end the workers should build up their own social philosophy based on individual thinking and self-reliance. Following on such a course they may come to realize that nature has created them to live as free men, not as subordinates to a system of capitalist, fascist or communist regimentation.

*—The reference should not be interpreted as sanctioning the war on either side. — S. P.

**—In our opinion, the communists now ruling Russia are carrying through the ideal purpose of marxian socialism no better than Karl Marx would have done—if he were alive today. The fault lies not with the Lenins, Trotskys or Stalins—but solely with the very ideology of marxian socialism. Its basic ideology is authoritarian, so that wherever it shall not be put into practice—it will end as it did in Russia—in the enslavement of those over whom it will extend its reign.—Editor.

Storms and Anarchism

In the heart of the masses there is a gentle undulating movement. This movement, obviously, has been torn asunder time and time again, for it carries the scars of many storms; but it continues to flow in the direction of a wonderful future which is situated in the midst of a boundless freedom called Anarchism.

Slowly and smoothly at times, this perpetual movement, almost imperceptible, is ceaselessly nearing its goal. Still, it happens that when it seems quite within easy reach of its destination, a storm suddenly will break out and set the resisting current of diabolical authoritarian ideas into commotion. Then, the untiring movement drifts in all directions tossed about by ferocious attacks that lead to terrorizing fire-squads, scaffolds, electric chairs, and guillotines, and to apparent downfalls sinking deep into dark abysses.

During such storms, and even sometime after their murderous devastations, there appears to be a setback in the invincible march, but the movement, young and fresh, though weakened in appearance by the fury of the storms again resumes its former course towards its alluring, beautiful, enchanting aim: the land of unlimited freedom, Anarchism.

Jules SCARCIERIAUX

Happiness Within Our Reach

The superior, esthetic pleasures of human life: such as thinking, studying, arguing, research, etc., require less exterior conditions and are much more within our reach than the purely egotistic pleasures. Indeed, the happiness of the thinker or the artist, is of very little cost; a crust of bread, a book, a landscape . . . give them a pleasure higher than the stupid man gets in his luxurious touring car. And so we see that superior pleasures are inexpensive, deeper, more intimate and have less tendency to devide men as do the inferior pleasures; yes, happiness is within our reach.

M. GOYAU

(Contributed by the Book-Friendship Circle).

Mory BERMAN

Marcus Graham

IN RETROSPECT

The Fate of the Hindus and Jews

The rulers of the British Empire have again delivered a death blow to those Jewish people who were naive to expect carte blanche in the building up of a Jewish State in a part of Palestine. The new regulations restricting Jewish immigration and forbidding the buying of land from Arabs is convincing proof of this.

Those Jewish leaders who bargained all along with the rulers of Great Britain will, in the end, elicit some sort of new vague promises with which to go on fooling their followers as to the good intentions of the British imperialists. Already one notices that some apologists are attempting to explain and defend the latest blow as a "defensive" measure against the Nazi and fascist propaganda among the Arabs.

What we have said about the Jewish question in Palestine can equally be applied to the fate of the Hindus in India. The same promises which the British imperialists made to the Hindu leaders during the last world war is now being re-stated: Freedom for India has to wait until the new imperialist war will have been won. And Mr. Gandhi, the holy pacifist politician, does not hesitate to acquiesce to this new hypocrisy of his countrymen.

The action of the British imperialists surely reaffirms the facts that the present war for "freedom" is nothing more than a new imperialistic venture. The war is, a war for profits, a war to retain the past conquests through wars, a war principally and solely for the avowed purpose of maintaining the status quo of the capitalist system.

The secret confabs which Mr. Welles has been holding with such well known betrayers of every true concept of Freedom and Justice—Chamberlain, Daladier, Mussolini, Hitler (and through Myron Taylor with the Pope)—furnishes the strongest corroboration of our contentions.

If President Roosevelt had had a straight-forward plan for peace, he would not have found it necessary to send an envoy on a secret mission to act secretly. He would have nothing to conceal from the people. But his peace plan is undoubtedly nothing more than a sellout of the true wishes, hopes and desires of the people. When all is said, how can any sane thinking person expect the rulers of the present world to be interested in holding any thought whatever for the peace of the world—a peace which—if to truly eliminate wars for all time—would have to lead toward the elimination of the system of profits and imperialism?

The fate of the Jewish people, always the scapegoat of threatened tyrannies; the fate of the Hindus; the fate of the Irish; the fate even of those "lucky" people who now have "dominion" rule or supposedly equal rights of franchise, in short, the fate of the people throughout the entire world is bound-up with the sole issues of the Profit System and Governments. As long as mankind fails to realize the urgent need for discarding both, the security of the people from war and unemployment, injustice and ill-health, unhappiness and poverty will not be had.

The Communists on New Fronts

On March 2, 1940, an all-day Conference for the preservation of Civil Liberties was held in Los Angeles, California. Officially it was sponsored by a local of the American Federation of College Teachers, the local National Lawyers Guild and the Southern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Professors and lawyers delivered addresses on Academic Freedom, The Rights of Negroes, The Rights of Aliens, Censorship and the Rights of Labor.

In the discussion that followed it seemed that the several hundred assembled delegates, supposedly representing about 50 various organizations, utilized the discussion period as a means of popularizing the issues already approved by the Communist Party.

A resolution Committee which was to give its report at the end of the first session stated instead that it would not be ready until the evening session.

In the evening session, a series of speeches by city and state officials was given. When this was over, the chairman of the resolutions committee, a professor Norman Byrnes, rendered a report. All told, he read off 14 resolutions. Strangely enough, each reso-

lution was a mere re-echo of the seemingly pre-arranged speeches heard from the floor during the discussion periods of the earlier session. The fourteen resolutions were carried by an oral vote.

It was at the end of those proceedings that the conference first learned from a protesting delegate of the Socialist party that his resolution, dealing with the question of every totalitarian dictatorship being a detrimental force to civil liberties, was not even reported by the chairman of the resolutions Committee. Deliberately lying, the chairman asserted that the Committee was entrusted with the right of choosing which of the resolutions were to be brought in. In reality, it was directed to only edit all of the resolutions presented to it. The Conference as a body was to be the sole judge of all resolutions presented. The few delegates who were truly and sincerely interested in the preservation of civil liberties protested. Realizing that they were put on the spot, the communists responded to the emergency. The field organizer of the International Labor Defense moved that all unreported resolutions be referred to the Continuation Committee of the Conference. All attempts to fairly discuss this tricky move were drowned in shouts of ridicule by the Communist stooges. And the "victory" was theirs.

In rendering an extensive report of the Conference, *The Open Forum*, organ of the Southern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, elaborated on each of the 14 resolutions. All it had to say about the suppressed resolutions was as follows:

"Resolutions touching other matters were presented to the Conference but were not acted upon. Finally it was decided that all such resolutions should be given to the Continuation Committee for their consideration and action."

This wilfully intended distortion of facts is quite apparent in the paragraph we first quoted. How could the suppressed resolutions of the resolutions committee be acted upon when they were not even brought before the Conference?

Further proof, if needed, as a means of attesting to the constitution of the Conference has been furnished unwittingly by a report in the Communist paper, *People's World*, on March 12, 1940.

The following statement slipped into this report:

"An attempt by the Socialist Party delegation to introduce a splitting resolution against the Communists was defeated by a substantial majority."

Falsification number one: The resolution was never introduced before the Conference. As already stated it was suppressed by the resolutions committee.

Falsification number two: Since the resolution was never introduced, it could never have been voted upon.

Read in its real meaning, the report of the *People's World* implies that the communist stooges in the resolutions committee killed the resolution of the Socialist party by having the Conference vote that that and other suppressed resolutions be turned over for further (?) action by the Continuation Conference Committee.

The Conference passed several resolutions on the anti-alien bills now pending in Congress. It even found time to pass a resolution "blasting the attempts being made by the Department of Justice to revoke the citizenship of William Schneiderman, California state secretary of the Communist Party". Yet, the same resolutions committee which brought in the resolution on Schneiderman suppressed a resolution presented to it by the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee, a resolution that would have had the Conference call upon President Roosevelt and the Secretary of Labor to dismiss the 21-year-old deportation proceedings against Marcus Graham.

It happens that the Southern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union has been and still is carrying on the legal defense of Marcus Graham. Dr. Clinton J. Taft, its Director, was a member of the resolutions committee. He must have approved the suppression of the resolution in behalf of Graham since he never opened his mouth while the actions of the resolution committee were being discussed by the Conference.

It is indeed a most pitiful and compromising situation in which Dr. Taft has placed the Civil Liberties Union of Southern California. True, the few civil rights and liberties which are written down on the statute books are being threatened. A Conference to arouse all the true liberal forces believing in Civil Liberties was most appropriate. But is it possible that Dr. Taft was not fully aware of the reasons why the Communists supported the Conference, came there with their rubber stamp organizations and assumed full control of the resolutions and continuation committees? Even if one should give Dr. Taft the benefit of the doubt, one could not fail to note the maneuvering of the Committee at the Conference. By his silence and acquiescence Dr. Taft condoned all of their actions. He gave open approval to their actions by the kind of doctored report he gave of the conference as editor of *The Open Forum*.

The action of Dr. Taft and all other spokesmen of the Civil Liberties Union who participated in the Conference—is indefensible. In allowing such things

to take place without any formidable protest, the membership of the Civil Liberties Union will thereby aid and abet a much swifter extinction of civil liberties than would otherwise be the case. If truly sincere and only sincere elements who really believe in the maintenance of civil liberties for all parties, groups and opinions had participated in the Conference and acted in its Continuation Committee, then we might say that the Conference would have achieved its purpose.

We learn from *The Call* of March 30, 1940, that similar "Conferences" for "Civil Rights" and "Civil Liberties" and resulting in exact replicas of what took place at Los Angeles were recently held in Detroit, Chicago, Boston, New Bedford, Minneapolis, Miami, San Francisco and New York City.

By the usual method of rubber stamp organizations, the Communists gained control of the Conferences and of the Continuation Committees.

At the Conference called by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born (March 2nd, Wash. D. C.) the communist rubber stamp organizations prevented the adoption of an anti-totalitarian resolution.

These newly added instances only tend to strengthen the conclusions we have drawn from the Conference we witnessed at Los Angeles.

This latest scandalous maneuvering of the Communists calls for more than mere exposure and condemnation. It is a challenge to every sincere believer in the inalienable rights of freedom of expression—be they members of the Civil Liberties Union or not. (As to the Civil Liberties Union and its affiliated organizations, it goes without saying that failure to act immediately in disassociating themselves from this large scale fraudulent attempt of the Communists will ultimately spell their own moral bankruptcy and doom).

The communists, as a reigning government in Russia, have destroyed every vestige of freedom of opinion. The communists throughout the world have repeatedly been engaged in justifying assassination of freedom of thought. Their appearance in the United States—or anywhere else—as champions of freedom of thought is nothing less than the grossest of insults to the very idea of freedom of thought.

The Valuelessness of Unions

In the last issue of this journal we dealt with the question of the organized labor movement. We pointed out the fact that labor can expect to derive very little from it. Our conclusions were based on the premise that the organized labor movement serves only as a prop in maintaining and perpetuating the present system of capitalism. Quotations from spokesmen of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. further substantiated our conclusions.

Since last month we have had occasion to read the following story coming from Oakland, California:

"The Paraffine Companies, Ltd., which gets along with 18 CIO and AFL unions and likes it, have now opened a labor college providing 40 weeks' instruction in labor relations. The school is open to their own employees and to officials and organizers of any union. The idea grew out of the classes held by the company last year for its shop stewards, taught by two instructors from the University of California. This year the instructors will be leaders of industry and labor, including representatives from the CIO and AFL, as well as from the Associated Farmers and the San Francisco Employers Council. Labor representatives include State Sen. John F. Shelley, president of the San Francisco Labor Council; Gerfair Bulcke, district council secretary of the CIO; Jennie Matyas, organizer of the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union (unaffiliated); and H. P. Melnikow of the Pacific Coast Labor Bureau. Prof. Ira. B. Cross, noted University of California economist, will also be a teacher."

This story speaks for itself. It more than fully justifies the position we have always taken concerning the organized labor movement.

Yet, it calls for additional comment.

Let us suppose, for a brief moment, that all the leading industrial concerns of the country would follow suit and become as broadminded as "The Paraffine Companies Ltd." What would be the results?

The capitalist system would continue its system of profits derived from the toil of the workers; labor leaders would continue to draw their huge salaries more securely than ever before; the Government would continue to function as the guardian of the present order and all conditions as they are, so well known by and to all the oppressed, would remain in tact.

Could any one have exposed and damned the utter valuelessness of the organized labor movement more strongly than does the "college" plan of "The Paraffine Companies Ltd.?"

The anarchist movement here, as well as in many other countries, has had those within its ranks who held the belief that it is the "duty" of the anarchists to help in the building up of all sorts of trade unions. Those who became the most active in this work finished up by becoming salaried persons in the unions they

(Continued on Page Five)

MAN!

A Monthly Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

Subscription Price: \$1.00 per year, Six months Fifty Cents.—Sample Copies Free Upon Request

MAN! invites the collaboration of all writers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, poems and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address:

MAN!

P. O. Box 971 Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.

WILLIAM GODWIN—PIONEER OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT

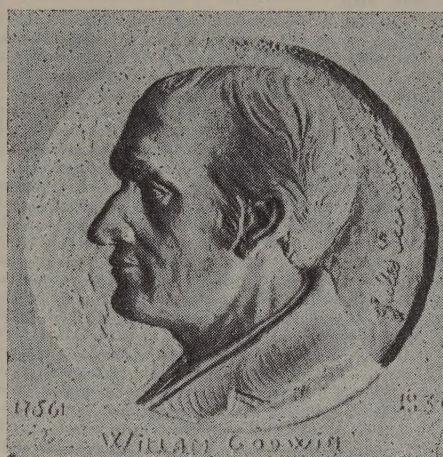
While men live in total uproar because of their brutish passions, submit to others' most niggardly schemes, and seem to have completely abdicated their own thinking faculties which ought always to distinguish them from animaldom, it is still instructive, encouraging and reassuring to remember William Godwin, one of the most clear-minded men and the greatest celebrity in human thought.

Born in Wisbech, England, nearly two centuries ago, March the 3rd, 1756, Godwin lived at a time when the individual as well as the collective conscience was revolutionized by devastating wars and discoveries, when men were agitated by great hope and great delusions. But if the errors of war and the terror of despotism kindled in him the flame of justice, if the prodigious destructions and renovations performed by men of his time gave him the unshaken certainty of humanity's highest development, neither adversities of time, the drawbacks of barbarism, nor the menace and scorn of the powerful ever blurred the crystal clarity of his convictions.

In the whirlwind of dreadful events under the crashing shipwreck of the Feudal system which refused to die, and the slow blooming of the new world too eager to live, Godwin gave men the compass of matured thought, the flambeau of an ideal that neither the unconsciousness of the many nor the brutality of the few could ever succeed in extinguishing.

Godwin was the first enunciator of the anarchist critique and doctrine; and as long as the love for freedom palpitates in the hearts of men, as long as a breath of justice vibrates in the discontented conscience of the human race, so long will the name and thought of Godwin be remembered in the world.

Surely it was not his fault if men of his time could not see the inflexible compass of his thought; neither was he to blame if men could not grasp nor dare to follow the brilliant light of his torch. However, it was meritorious on his part to have offered both to his contemporaries and to the future of mankind, and this, with a wonderful zeal for research, eloquence of words, a reasoning logic and a height of feeling that



WILLIAM GODWIN

—From a Plaque of Jules Scarceriaux

has never been surpassed; because of his worthy contribution—the greatness of his thought, the generosity of his vision—we shall see the renovated world conquered by justice and men liberated from the powerful tyranny of masters and rulers, prejudice and ignorance, to live free in the solidarity of happy and fruitful labor.

The most developed minds of his time as well as those that followed it found inspiration and guidance for great causes in the riches of his work. Indeed, without Godwin, Shelley and a great many of his contemporary poets would never have been so highly inspir-

ed. Furthermore, it can be said that his "Research on Political Justice" constitutes the basis for all sociological thought which leads to freedom and justice among men.

Well, nothing of importance has been added to Godwin's arguments in his criticism of the state in all its phases, of privilege under all its aspects, of religion in all its manifestations. Nothing escaped his conscientious investigation; no error, no individual or collective blemish saves itself from the implacable mechanism of his brilliant logic. And as an acute and passionate observer he anxiously followed the steps of the Revolution in action, and with the genius of a poet, with scientific reckoning, with the scruples of a well-balanced and justice-loving man he unfolded the social problems to their extreme consequences. While the French Revolution attempted to materialize the "Social Contract" he tore apart the arbitrary construction of J. J. Rousseau and demonstrated its absurdity. And while the French Revolution abolished the human personality in the Jacobinism, leaving only the terrible devils to survive in a deified society, Godwin preceded and surpassed the theories of Babeuf, breaking the chains, all the chains of privilege and rulership to select the new man, the liberated man who has his laws in his conscience, his mind accessible to all virtues and who is prepared for his highest destiny.

Yet, William Godwin was not a man of action, though he said he had the courage of his convictions. He was a man of study, reflection and thought. But he was all that with such mindful force, with such a faithful enthusiasm, with such an intellectual vigor, that from that alone he harvested in his own conscience, in a solemn moment of history, the collective conscience of the human race and gave his words an echo that cannot be altered by the decadence of time. For that historical moment as well as for his words, he still merits today—today more than ever, when consciences vacillate and thought seems to die from uncertainty and fear—the study and thankful remembrance of all those who trust in his blazing ideal.

(Translated from "L'Adunata" by J. S.)

Spain's Status in the War

During the World War the aristocratic and reactionary rulers of Spain were pro-German in sentiment. However, because of the Allied blockade, neutral Spain's vast wartime trade, which quintupled her gold reserves between 1913 and 1920, was carried on with Britain and France. In the present European War Spain, despite the fact that Francisco Franco owes his power to Adolf Hitler—and Benito Mussolini, is following the same path under the pressure of a similar blockade.

Two months ago Spain concluded a trade treaty with France. Last Monday in Madrid the Spanish Foreign Minister and the British Ambassador signed a comprehensive agreement which was in effect a trade treaty between fascist Spain and the entire British Empire with the exception of Canada. In this way Spain has been drawn away from Germany who until Sept. 1 accounted for 50 per cent of her foreign trade and into the economic orbit of the British and French Empires. Not only are the Allies temporarily safe from whatever feeble military efforts Franco might make in support of his fascist friends, but the British stockholders of the Rio Tinto mines and other enterprises in Spain are assured of their war dividends. Britain and France can now be certain of Spain's economically benevolent neutrality unless Germany accomplishes the stupendous feat of wresting sea control from Britain or Mussolini joins Germany's side of the war.

* * *

No Bargain

As a military ally, Franco's Spain would be no bargain for either side. The Spanish people are still demoralized, hungry and impoverished, though the Civil War ended a year ago. There is widespread passive resistance to the government's decrees. The "Second Inquisition," though reportedly modified, still holds thousands in abject fear. The Civil Guard, recently placed under direct army control, raid entire streets at odd hours of the night seeking Loyalists who have escaped the dragnet. They are executed at the rate of about one a day. The Falangists, who recently destroyed the last vestiges of trade unionism, constitute the only legal political party; but they have been forced to compromise with the grandees whose estates were restored by an unexpected decree March 6. Spanish peasants must once more accept the feudal economy which has always been Spain's No. 1 economic problem.

Grimmest fact in Spain today is the acute shortage of food—bread, meat, eggs, milk and olive oil. Crops were poor in 1939. To make matters worse, Franco had pledged three annual crops of wheat and olive oil to Adolf Hitler for German aid in crushing the Loyalists. Payment for 1938 and 1939 had been completed before the war broke out. Hitler stored the wheat as a war-time reserve and sold the olive oil abroad for foreign exchange. As a result bread has been scarce all over Spain and has been rationed in Madrid for the last few weeks. Consumption of the indispensable olive oil has been cut 90 per cent. Wheat from Algeria and Australia, brought in under the new treaties, may relieve the food situation—Uncensored.

"New Republic" Apologizes..

In its issue of April 1, 1940 the "New Republic" writes editorially, in part:

"Somebody has been badly fooled about recent French treatment of Spanish refugees... The New Republic has received from Manuel de la Sota, representative of the Basque government in the United States, a statement which asserts that a telegram from Dr. Negrin also denies the truth of the refugee story... From the other sources we learn that most of the Spanish refugees in France received better treatment since the French went to war... On the other hand some hundreds—at the lowest count—have in the past been forced back across the border into Franco priso-

nons."

Readers of MAN! need not be retold the treacheries enacted by the Negrin regime against the true interests of the people of Spain. He acted, at all times, as the agent of the allied imperialists—France and Great Britain. Is it possible that the "New Republic" has already forgotten what was a fact of common knowledge to all?

Everyone's suspicion as to the motives of the "New Republic" apology in behalf of the French Government will be strengthened by the concluding sentence of its editorial that we have quoted above. Suppose one grants that only several hundred Spaniards were handed over to the Franco hangmen—would that make it any the less of a reprehensible crime than if thousands were subjected to a similar fate?

Still, even the figures of the "New Republic" must be challenged, as they are indirectly by Solano Palacio, himself a refugee, that follows this note.

Spanish Refugees in France

No matter how much we talk and write about the conditions of the Spanish refugees, we can never approach the truth in its naked, ugly reality.

For their condition, particularly since the new decree of the Minister of the Interior, in effect beginning with March 15th, is most critical and dangerous.

From that date on, the refugees must choose between joining the French Army (with the Foreign Legion) or return to Spain to face death before the firing squad or at the hands of the "verdugo" at the garrote.

The decree against the Spanish refugees is clear and to the point—inflexible and unbending—as all decrees and laws when they apply to weak, defenseless people.

"Spanish refugees not carrying on a normal life in France, beginning with March 15th, will be forced to return to Spain."

We don't know whether the campaign of the Fascist press against France for having admitted the Spanish refugees, or political considerations is at the bottom of this decree. Does the Minister of the Interior realize the real significance of it? Does he realize the lives that its enforcement will cost? If he does, then we are dealing with a hardened criminal.

The Spanish refugees now in France wish only an opportunity to work and start anew the life that was broken with the defeat of the Loyalist cause. And they are denied even that most legitimate and natural desire.

It is necessary that we undertake an energetic campaign throughout the civilized world to save the thousands of Spanish antifascists from being sent back to sure death. To that end, we must awaken the international opinion to the real meaning of this decree of the French Minister of the Interior. Let the whole world know it! Let the free men know of the filth and corruption—the mendacity—of the clique that misrules France! Let them know how the alleged cradle of liberty: the home of the rights of man treats the men and women who had the courage to fight fascism. Let them know that the lives of hundreds of thousands of Spanish anti-fascists are in the hands, at the mercy of any Monsieur le Préfet and his henchmen.

Let us protest against this crime of the French government. We should not permit that our brothers be made to return to face the hangmen of sinister Franco.

Solano PALACIO

The Valuelessness of...

(Continued from Page Four)

helped to build. And they gradually drifted away from the anarchist movement. This is an indisputable fact.

If there still remain those in our ranks who believe in the need of continuing to follow so disastrous a course, the "college" plan advanced by "The Parafine Companies Ltd." certainly ought to serve as an eye opener and rude awakener of their delusions.

In helping to build up an organized labor movement the anarchist unavoidably aids in the perpetuation of the present system of exploitation. It is one thing to belong to a union of ones trade and quite another thing to help to build one. The first is a necessity, whereas the second is a voluntary aid rendered to a wrong and harmful scheme. The building of unions is and always will be the job of those who profit from such unions by substantial remuneration. But what moral justification can an anarchist give for helping to build up unions?

Whether in times of peace or in times of strife, in factories and shops, the anarchist belongs to the union and participates in the strikes—knowing full well the real aims of the unions. He must be ready always to explain to his fellow workers the valuelessness of the organized labor movement in the struggle for the downfall of the system of profits, exploitation and rulership.

When an anarchist becomes a job holder in the union, he lends silent approval to the unions' dealings in and with politics, government, exploitation and all the evils from which the masses suffer. In short he must and does aqiesce to the perpetuation of the capitalist system.

BOOK REVIEW

I BELIEVE. The Personal Philosophies of Certain Eminent Men and Women of our Time. Edited by Clifton Fadiman. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1939.

In this day of crisis the philosophies which have guided the lives of mankind are being proven and disproven. Just what do many of the leading thinkers of the world consider important? Ten years ago twenty two leading men and women published their ideas under the title *Living Philosophies*. Looking over my notes on this book I find that I appreciated the statements of James Truslow Adams in which he stresses the moral law to be recognized by the individual instead of the emphasis placed upon the state: "The civil law cannot keep people from lying—only the moral law can do this", is the way he put it. NANSEN looked toward a better world and felt sure that it would not come through "a war to end war" or by short-cuts of revolutions, but by gradual growth of thought from within each individual, for in mass movements all wisdom is supposed to come from the leader who has allowed power to corrupt the ideal which was the initial rallying cry of revolt. Dean Inge felt that we had to "fight the politician who remembers only that the unborn have no votes and that since posterity has done nothing for us we need do nothing for posterity." Mencken gives his criticism of government which rings as true today as it did ten years ago: "I believe that all government is evil, in that all government must necessarily make war upon liberty; and that the democratic form is at least as bad as any other forms."

In this new book all but two or three of the authors of the former book have given in a thousand words or more their change of emphasis if any. Mencken has given again his basic philosophy: "Government, in its essence and invariably, is inimical to all competent and well-disposed men. Robert A. Millikan is against both the authoritarianism of the Church and the State. John Dewey emphasizes voluntary action and calls for libertarian ideals in a "functional instead of a state Socialism." Julia Peterkin feels that: an excellent person demands more of himself than anyone else, an inferior more of others."

This new book, I BELIEVE, has also asked over twenty younger men and women of today to give their emphasis of life and its problems. A full page photograph accompanies each essay, helping one to correlate the philosophy with the author. This reviewer makes no attempt to deal with each author represented, but a few items from those thought to be most interesting to readers of MAN! are given.

W. H. AUDEN, English poet, husband of Erika Mann, emphasizes decentralization and the foolishness of using political instead of geographical units in making laws or in deciding policies. FRANZ BOAS feels that if we want to educate men who will act as individuals and not parts of a mob, we must shun symbols and present to students diverse characters in history who have lived for their ideals, and also study the environment from which they came. PEARL BUCK believes that "People are what they want most to be" and that when they cease to present alibi after alibi for their predicament they will then be on the road to improvement. STUART CHASE presents his philosophy in seven short stories of dilemma; and how he reacted to certain situations. To act quickly and to base conclusions on insufficient data are common mistakes. To have an inquiring mind and to be honest and not afraid of an idea makes life interesting. He believes that disaster is coming but that in the long run we will make it.

E. M. FORSTER, English novelist thinks that "Reliability isn't a matter of contract... it is a matter of the heart which signs no documents." He feels that if he had to choose between betraying a friend and betraying the state he hopes that he would have enough guts to betray the state. He gives the illustration of the newsboy who leaves his cap beside his pile of papers outside of the House of Commons. No one steals papers or pennies while he is gone, but those inside the House of Commons cannot trust each other in that manner. "No caps upon the pavement here, but suspicion, treachery, and armaments."

ELLEN GLOSGOW states that "Men have always made their Gods after their own images—the Greeks like the Greeks, the Ethiopians like the Ethiopians." She tells of her admiration of the life of simplicity of the great Saint Francis of Assisi and of her temptation to become a Catholic. However she remembered her visit to Assisi where she saw "a small skeleton of a horse, staggering under a lash as it dragged several robust Franciscan friars up to the church. And I saw... that St. Francis was one alone, but the Franciscans friars are a multitude."

HAROLD J. LASKI takes the traditional Socialist party viewpoint but livens it by his notations that professors who remain quiet already take sides on an issue. As he was censored for upholding the strike of Boston policemen he has a right to speak on this subject. LIN YUTANG gives a quotation from *Mencius* which could be the subject from a thousand pulpits: "He who attends to his greater self becomes a great

man, and he who attends to his smaller self becomes a smaller man."

JACQUES MARITAIN, the French Catholic philosopher, who did not support Franco in the Spanish war and who is the foremost advocate of personalism among European Catholics, contributes the thought made popular in his book "Freedom in the Modern World" in which he emphatically states that good ends cannot be accomplished by evil means. He states: "There is no more fundamental, no more effective wisdom than that simple and tenacious confidence—not in the weapons of force and cleverness and malice... but in the resources of personal courage and good will." This essay comes with greater importance at this time for Maritain has recently espoused the forces of evil for a good cause in supporting the Allies in what he calls "a just but not a holy war". He has been an independent thinker and it is hoped that he will have the courage to admit his mistake after the war.

GEORGE SANTAYANA, the philosopher who calls himself Catholic, but who does not attend church and of whom it has been jokingly said that his philosophy was epitomized by the expression—there is no God and Mary is His mother, bring forth the thought that "Religions are the great fairy tales of the conscience."

However, to the libertarian the essay which will repay the time spent in reading the whole volume is that by VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON who spent ten years among the Stone Age Eskimos and who gives as his opinion that: The chief factor in the happiness of the Stone Age Eskimos was that they were living according to the Golden Rule." He describes their life as a "communistic anarchy", telling how without prisons, courts, police, churches or private

property they were able to live without friction. Each one contributed according to his skill and ability and each one received as much as he needed. No wealth was accumulated. When one stops to consider the lives of many of our so called idealists, such as the late Senator Borah who died leaving \$200,000, it would seem immoral that anyone with ideals should wish to amass that much money in their old age. In contrast the simple life of the Eskimo seems much more worthwhile. Among these anarchistic people if a person were selfish he was disliked. To be generous was to be well thought of. How many of us today really think well of the generous man? Do we not call him foolish? How many radicals would be just as grasping as the capitalist if they had the opportunity?

Among these Eskimos every debt was a debt of honor. No one needed to make anyone do anything. The author states: "I never knew even one who didn't try his best." They lived lives much more comfortable in sub-zero weather than we do in our apartments. Their peace of mind kept them well. As they had little else to eat they lived practically entirely on meat. When the missionaries came with their diseases, fear, and the white man's ideas of progress the tribe commenced to deteriorate.

To those who say that anarchism is impossible—that it cannot work—here is the example. It did work—and under the most trying conditions of climate and conditions of the arts.

Conservative or radical can read this book with great benefit, for enough of a variety of ideas are given so that there is a thought which will provoke any student to start from where he is and keep on thinking.

A Modern Poet Is Taken To Task

Editor MAN!

The assumption, that Libertarianism presupposes complete tolerance of free-speech, and free-expression, is obviously correct, in proof thereof, it will suffice to point to the extent you go, in the direction of fostering free-expression by letting the light of day shine, upon such effusions as, "Come They Will and Every Dreaming Lad Away" by William Peterson in the Feb. issue of MAN!

We concede, nay! We insist! That a "Dreaming Lad." has an inalienable right to dream his dreams even though these seem a bit queer to us.

Apparently W. P. is not content with bestowing upon us "ordinary" mortals his Poetic creation. For he finds it necessary to supplement it with an essay on the "Dilemma of the Modern Poet". Facing the "Dilemma", one is inclined to inquire whether a Poet, "Modern" or otherwise, must not primarily be either a good Poet, or a bad Poet.

Pure Poetry can only be good or no good i.e. devoid of merit, meaningless, of no account.

Thus we are confronted with the so called "Modern Poet"—(A good Poet has no need for a qualifying appellation)—whose presumption creates a —dilemma for the modern (a reality) reader.

As readers, many of us are nauseated by the strip teaser who shams a "morbid... delicious melancholy containing all the nuances of emotional frustration of which Poets are More (?!) susceptible than ordinary men."

However, as we realize that they are only shaming—for a wage—and that they don't consider themselves artistic "Goliaths" we are able to overcome the loathsome nausea.

Precisely because of this realization, one sickens so much more, when an aspiring "Literary Goliath" puts on an act of "Mental strip tease," in an attempt to pull us with "... the pure music of melancholy beauty so poignant that it paralyzes the mind..." yet, the "mind" (?) being "paralyzed" is not hindered from putting on a "tease" show, as of one. "... obsessed with the huge sadness of . . . a lame Dionysus who cannot find—"a blueprint for a flower"—such piddling piffle, creates a "dilemma" for the reader.

The Poet, be he Virgil, Dante, Villon, Shakespeare, Poe, or Masters has a great fond "of love", and sympathy, for mankind in general, and for the opposite sex in particular. Therefore he can only pity the poor frustrate impotents, who are "... obsessed with the huge sadness . . .", who can find "only temporary" ease by projecting themselves towards the

"Literary Goliaths", via booze, narcotics and the dallying with dreaming lads or lassies, as the case may be.

The dilemma for the modern reader is the so-called "Modern Poet" who is constantly whining, and insinuating himself into the public forums, parading his disdain for "Truth and Beauty", and as a final gesture flaunting his last "strip" number by "... knowing too well that all which is beautiful and eternal (sic) is another dimension . . . defies our perception but rather than carouse with the clown let us rally with those who have nothing; to sing but sorrow . . . the most beautiful and worthwhile of emotions . . ."

So now, that for the time being—the show—is over, I, as a reader find that there was no dilemma,—i. e. either or—posed at all, only an "Act".

Since I am no more in a quandary over the "dilemma" I shall leave the so-called "Modern Poet", to his occult dimensions.

Rather than be bored by strip teasing I will "rally to the clown who does carouse mostly in the open air, and while he is often weighed down with sadness does not capitalize on his "sorrow", in public exhibit.

J. KRAUSER

Modern School's Anniversary

(A Letter from Alexis C. Ferm)

Editor MAN!

It may be news to you that this is the 25th anniversary of the coming of The Modern School to Stelton, N. J. For many of us it was an eventful time, so we are inclined to celebrate.

During the month of May each Saturday night and Decoration Day will be given over to music, plays, talks on education and colony living, with a communal dinner to end the celebration on Sunday, June 2nd at one o'clock to be followed by special talks on education at three in the afternoon.

Not being satisfied with all that, a large committee has been formed in New York for giving a concert and conversazione at the Diplomat Hotel on the 17th of May. Many of the former participants in the work of the school and friends, will help in preparing for the celebration. A booklet will be issued containing short articles by former members, pupils and teachers, which might well serve as a history of the thought and intentions of the Association, as well as its accomplishments.

I say "thought and intentions" advisedly, for the many may not agree as to the value of the accomplishments, even those who put little value on the accomplishments must take the intentions into consideration. It is what a man would do that exalts him. Accomplishments may be hampered by the inaction of the friends of a movement as well as by the actions of those who do not understand.

But when a work continues for twenty-five years in the face of opposition and misunderstanding there must be some vital spark that inspires the workers. That vital spark may be contained in the idea that a thoughtful, independent and self-active individual can be evolved only when education, as Ferrer said, "leaves to the child the direction of its powers and is content to support them in their manifestations." And he followed that up with "we are convinced (Continued on Page Eight)

The Regular FIVE DOLLAR Edition
of
ETHICS
by PETER KROPOTKIN
ONE DOLLAR
Order through MAN!

ART and LITERATURE

Man's Tragedy Through The Painter's World

I believe that Painting as well as Poetry... and it is only from the standpoint of Poetry that I can speak of Painting... has not always harmonized with the times in which we live moving along as we do without the guide of conscience, propelled forward by the momentum of other ages or dragged ahead by strange experiences. And it so happens sometimes that the direction taken by the Artist does not coincide with the wishes or point of view either of the Spaniard or of the man himself. The Artist separates himself from the world about him and ends by finding no refuge in which to gather strength, as when he repeats old discarded themes, or tries this and that jumping from one ridiculous extravagance to another.

Before the Revolution we had a group of anachronistic artists along with a group of those who considered themselves of the vanguard. Both groups were far away from reality. The anachronistic artists to our heart's content went with the fascists and cannot enter into our history nor in the Spanish history of to-morrow. Not because they are fascists but because they are anachronistic and belong to a history that is already liquidated. Of the "modern" artists nearly all of them remain with us. These belonged and a few still do, to the past fifteen years, beginning with what was called the de-humanization of Art, and continuing into the post-surrealist schools. French ways both of them, born out of the experiences of the last European War which we did not live thru and which did not affect us in so tragic a manner. This error our art must pay for. The war experience gave the French artists a certain sensibility which is not ours and which we cannot successfully imitate. The falsity of our de-humanized art springs from this root... not because it is of foreign importation (which it has been at other times) but because it was based on a vicarious experience, because it was copied from a group of men whose life in the trenches we could not even imagine then.

Now we are beginning to understand it better. Already we begin to see that the Spanish painters and poets who come out of this war must necessarily have an expression and a language that those of the rest of the world will find it difficult to reach.

Dehumanization and surrealism were both academic, for their cold expression and point of view were far away from the world and Man, as far away from the man of integrity as the subconscious and primitive expression is. And between these two attitudes our artists arrive at the doors of our present tragedy for as soon as the struggle began the true poets and painters had to cast aside all their limited and impotent things. "There is more in heaven and earth than is dreamt of in your (Man's) poor philosophy," said Hamlet facing his domestic tragedy. We, giving this phrase a slightly different interpretation can say: "There is more today in Spain, in the Spanish tragedy, than there is in the caprices of Picasso or in the monstrous nightmares of the surrealists."

The dehumanizers long ago disappeared and the surrealists have nearly all followed suit. Man is a sub-conscious being but he is much more besides. The subconscious is more clear than ever to-day, poised on our very shoulders, like two old crows, seeing their last work upon the bloody soil of Spain, but here also are, more alert than ever our eyes, our physical eyes and the eyes of Conscience contemplating and trying to understand and explain the reason for so much blood.

Perhaps in this Spanish Revolution the subconscious has been more unrestrained and loose than heretofore, but it is also true that the conscious being has expressed itself more clearly than ever — what it wants and what it fights for. The poisonous Press and the mercenary Propagandists have spoken only of crimes and monstrosities keeping silent about our meditated designs and the sacrifices that we contemplate. They have done no better than surrealism; they wish to see but one part of man.

Yet, History, as well as Art, is somewhat more than the subconscious.

I am returning to my thesis which you already know concerning the integral artist. But speaking of painters I wish to add a few words.

Between the two great European wars—that of 1914-1918 and our own present war (which needless to say must have a far greater effect upon the destinies of Spain)—our Painting, our Art in general has been nothing but a series of uninterrupted trials and desertions. In nearly twenty years there were no painters with a message. There were painters wonderfully skilled in the technic of their trade but hardly a single one of them had anything to say to their fellow men. The best painters had, perhaps, a message for the painters of their own class but none for Man. And this human message is what has always made Art worthy. Beyond and above the technic and the skills of his trade the Artist must create his own world. And that world must convey the import of his message. Technic and trade has no other function. Or, perhaps, the intention itself, of the subconscious is the origin of technic. The Byzantine atti-

tudes will come back and dispute anew about pure Art and Art for Art's sake, I know it, especially among the spurious and the dilettante. Byzantine stands always for decadence and will defend forever the empty forms of Art.

Art is nothing but a part of the Whole—a Way, a "tool", yes. And I use this word without any intention of demeaning Art... The Artist, the great Artist, the creative Artist, he is a creator of a universe.

I do not believe that the great artist is the one who paints paints best, nor that he is the one who knows his trade best, nor that he is the one who knows his trade best, nor do I believe in style—neither technic nor style. Atmosphere, a world, is what the great painters have for me. A world, very distinct from the one in which we live but made of substances founded on a clear knowledge of it. Man and things enter into this world inside of laws that sometimes become as exacting as the laws of our universe in a logic that is not Euclidean and in dimensions and light that are beyond the ordinary. Man does not run away from us, nor from abstraction nor from monstrosity. Man is here with his possibilities sometimes more daring and sometimes more clumsy, but always with his problems. With his problems, yes, with his dreams and with his misery. The great Spaniard never for a moment forgot the immediate problems

"The People's Servants"—Serving the People . . .



THE EXECUTIONS OF THE 3rd OF MAY, 1814. —Francisco Goya (1746-1828)

of man... religious problems, political, social and revolutionary problems too. And I have the feeling that they all learn to paint to clarify these problems. To bring to light and to denounce these problems clearly the painters create their own world. There is a Velazquez and a Goya world. El Greco, Solana and Souto each has a world of his own, an atmosphere in which his inventions moves, which is alive with his protest and his message. Everything that enters this world is immediately tinged with this motivating force and whatsoever cannot receive it segregates itself, runs away, escapes. What is not pen nor flame cannot enter the hidden world of El Greco. For the mystic, the World, our World, is imperfect and its Laws must be broken.

In the atmosphere of Velazquez there is no religious impulse... vertical dynamism. A political force is that which here wishes to organize the world. There is here a heavy and horizontal world that wished to direct things and men. Here everything stands still and man is nothing but a failure. In the world of El Greco the cosmic laws are broken and Man dominates Matter. In Velazquez it is Man who is broken and Matter conquers him. Idiots, midgets, madmen, heavy bodies, ugly heads... not the ascetic nor even the ordinary human can any longer breathe the atmosphere of this world.

I have a personal opinion of "Las Meninas" that might make the painters and critics laugh, but nevertheless here goes:

Above, in the attic of the Royal palace works Velazquez. There, I presume he lives, always alone, like a magician far away from people and the court itself. There he has his studio and his laboratory. There it is that he creates his atmosphere and his world... an atmosphere where only certain human beings can live and breathe. Now, in this instance, the painter is working on his great project "Las Meninas." It is nearly finished... a world of little human beings, an Infanta, some servants of the Queen, midgets and a magnificent dog. In this world of "Las Meninas" everything is still and man himself has stopped. He has come to a complete standstill in his evolutionary process. All is late and still, mentally and physically. Everything is tiny, infantile, instinctive, and nothing can break thru the boundaries of the intelligence and space in which the picture is organized. There is a place for the dog in this world, but for nobody else.

And here now, when everything is finished, comes an intrusive courier, perhaps from the palace with a message from the king. He opens the door and attempts to enter. Velazquez throws him out. "Out of here! Not one step more. Out!" and the man retreats frightened and dizzy,

nearly stunned with surprise. A man here is as out of place as in the animated cartoons of Walt Disney. Velazquez returns again to the dark studio.

This is the picture we get. But I always imagine that Velazquez himself found it difficult to breathe in the world he created and in my fancy I see him in the background, hidden in the darkness like a director of marionettes manipulating the strings. And it seems to me that the painter retreats ever further into the background pushing forward all these pictures of midgets, the Infanta, and the dog saying, "Here it is!"

The magnificent and clear sighted intelligence wants to make this world comprehensible and to denounce the political failure of man. In the world of Velazquez Man is always defeated. It is a kingdom of law where no human intelligence flowers. The child, the midgets, the dog and the idiot mark the ordinary light of these broken human buds that never flower. The painter knows it and it isn't because he paints what he finds; paints what he wants to paint when he is free from the demands of the court; and when he paints what he wants, paints and underlines what he paints. The art critics may talk about the painters of light for light's sake. Nevertheless, I still believe that they learn how to paint in order to denounce our decadence and the physical and spiritual ruination of man.

So did Cervantes learn how to write in order to compose

his Quixote. Light in Velazquez' pictures is more than the definite indicator and the explanation. Or is it then that the idiots have come to life for no other reason than to be painted by certain painters without any meaning at all? There is a world of failure that the painter has to paint, but the one who leaves his door open for criticism and gives an interpretation so light may enter into the darkness of our destiny... that will be the painter who paints best. This is the secret of genius.

The Child de Vallecas, says Moreno Villa, is by no means the best of Velazquez' work but is the most desolating picture of all his gallery of monsters. It represents a deformed child, a paralytic idiot with the spirit still born and the brain dried. Here we have man, broken and unlucky. We see the child against a background of red curtains that open toward the middle of the picture to show us a severe landscape of Castilla. Light entering from all corners, denouncing our injustice and hopelessness, remains red on the curtains daringly emphasizing the idiot's infantile deformity. That half of the background is like a poignant cry. Their light, escaping to the open field offers us the forces of Nature and a limitless horizon.

Velazquez brings out this problem, hundreds of times in his midgets, his clowns and in his madmen, asking us incessantly: "Who did this? Why are there such human beings in the world? Who has conceived them?... our sins or the fatal sign of the stars." In each painting there must be an interrogation and to ask this question the painter learns to paint.

Goya pictures a still more decadent Spain. The Spaniard already lives without religious or political laws... with neither church nor royalty. Commercialism is the religion and the court is a brothel. The Spaniard to save himself forgets his history, adapts himself to the Iberian principle and returns to the old clan instincts. There are no horizontal nor vertical laws and chaos appears in painting... I mean in the themes of painting. New human monsters begin to walk in the pictures. And the laws of chaos and hopelessness are what determine Goya's world. Goya is the best documentarian of the last period of our decadence which lasted more than a century and is being brought to a close now by the paintings of Solana and Ramon the Valle-Inclan and the gregarious atomization of Gomez de la Serna's work.

Spain has been disorganizing, dismembering, decomposing itself to dust. Dust, dirty dust, is all our life, and the nation left in our land at the beginning of this tragedy. Only one question remains: This dirty dust, is it all useless? The revolutionists say no. Some Spanish poets, —we say No. And Souto, the painter Souto, he also says No. This land of toil and dusty earth is our only wealth. It is not an unproductive land but it needs a bloody irrigation, that will carry men thru the air and bury them in the ground as seeds of hope.

Souto is the painter of a new sky. A sky of reconstruction under which will begin once more the efforts which mirror the unceasing limitless hope of man. We find ourselves in a world in which the virginal and primary essences of life forever cry aloud and move us to build and organize our lives in a better way. We live in a world of tempest, of turbulent winds that rises and in a tumult shakes the trees to hurl man forward along unknown roads. It is a world of agony and of struggle, of transit and of waiting. But something will come to life; out of a world of shadows and darkness, a dawn.

Many things pass forever in this land and others are just beginning to appear. Everything is cloudy and indefinite, nothing is complete. Bodies appear obscure and what is seen today will tomorrow be of a different nature. And

(Continued on Page 8)

BEHIND THE FRONTS

For the vast majority of war-worried Americans confusion on foreign policy arises mostly from the glib statements of those who hide their burning desire to help one side or the other under a keep America out of war slogan. It is standard practice among pro-Ally interventionists to begin by swearing allegiance to this slogan and then proceed, in the face of the obvious lessons of history, to urge all aid "short of war." But the small minority of Americans who would if they could intervene on the side of Germany or the Soviet Union must be content with the slogan. By no rule of logic or morals can a follower of Stalin or Hitler anywhere in the world be called "anti-war." A general who orders one sector of his front to cease firing does not thereby become anti-war, nor can the soldiers in the sector resting on their muzzles be said to be following a "peace policy."

By now it is jumping on a dead horse to point out that seven months ago American Communists advocated the most warlike form of Collective security, that French Communist Deputies voted for increased war budgets, that the Comintern wanted to crush Hitler with the help of Britain and France — imperialism or no imperialism. But American anti-interventionists remain aware of the fact that the neutrality of American Communists has as little foundation in American needs as their former advocacy of quarantining the aggressor. Should Stalin pull out of the Nazi-Soviet alliance, Communists may again be advocating collective action against Hitler. Should a slightly sanitized Third Reich join Britain to save the world from communism, domestic Nazis would no longer be neutral. Underlying these shifts is the basic fact that American supporters of Stalin and Hitler are not free agents.

Since the Communist party and the German-American Bund are recognized as agents of their dictators, their anti-war activities in their own name cause little confusion. The Bund sponsors rallies for "Neutrality and Civil Liberties" addressed by Wilhelm Kunze, its National Vice-Commander, and other officers. The only innocent fronts available to the Nazis are disre-

"Behind New Fronts", the article we are presenting on this page appeared in the March 30th issue of "Uncensored", a mimeographed weekly edited by Harry Elmer Barnes, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, John Chamberlain, Stuart Chase, Marquis W. Child, John T. Flynn, C. Hartley Grattan, Hubert Herring, Quincy Howe, George R. Leighton, Ferdinand Lundberg, Ernest L. Meyer, Richard L. Neuberger, Selden Rodman and Oswald Garrison Villard. It is presently, the most informative publication on current world events published in America. Its subscription rates are \$2.50 for six months and the address is 112 E. 19th Street, New York City. We recommend it to all our readers.—Editor

dicted fascist groups such as the Christian Mobilizers, Joseph E. McWilliams, head of the Mobilizers, and James True, both notorious anti-Semites, have collaborated with Fritz Kuhn in his "neutrality" campaigns and represent the only type of innocent the Nazis can find.

The Communists, however, retain a hold in labor and liberal groups. Adept in the organization of innocent fronts, they are shifting their entire solar system in accord with the new position of the Moscow sun. First step was the dissolution of the American League for Peace and Democracy, most successful of communist "transmission belts." To operate in the labor movement, the Yanks Are Not Coming Committee was organized in San Francisco by Harry Bridges' Maritime Federation. (UNCENSORED Jan. 20). Under a variety of names, local peace and civil liberty groups are springing up throughout the country. Behind these groups are the individuals and organizations who always form the nucleus of Communist fronts. If necessary prominent names are used without authorization to obtain non-Communist support. The technique is familiar. All new groups pass the same set of resolutions, adopt the Yanks Are Not Coming as their slogan and undertake to distribute the pamphlet of that name by Mike Quin, former editor of the Western Worker now called the People's World, but still the Communist organ on the West coast. Mr. Quin's pamphlet does not mention the Soviet invasion of Finland. "As far as Hitler or Daladier or Chamberlain or Mussolini are concerned," Mr. Quin writes, "we're sending no troops or assistance." Persistent inquiries of Mr. Quin and his sponsors concerning "our" intentions towards Stalin have brought no response.

* * *

“Peace Day”

Communist peace maneuvers of the last few months will culminate in their new fronts. In New York City, nine of the trade union sponsors of the April 6 "Call to Peace" are also signers of the call for the Communist May Day conference. Some trade union leaders, particularly in white-collar unions, have had to make the change in line carefully. When Newsweek on Feb. 26 reported that the State, County and Municipal Workers was one of the CIO unions that had "picked up the idea" of the Yanks Are Not Coming pamphlet, its President, Abram Flaxer, wrote lengthily to deny that his union had done anything more than mention the pamphlet in its magazine. The following week, the New York organ of Mr. Flaxer's union urged distribution of the pamphlet and reported its plans to make April 6 demonstrations "resound throughout a world."

In his letter to Newsweek, Mr. Flaxer avowed that "we Americans have plenty of problems to lick here at home without butting into Europe's quarrels and reaping some additional headaches the way we did last time." However, in January 1939, Mr. Flaxer signed the call to the fifth national congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy which said: "We cannot hope to remain aloof from a Fascist-instigated world war. Sooner or later we would become involved as we were in the last war. Our only hope is to prevent such a world war from developing; to use our international influence and economic power to stop Fascist aggression." Similar examples of the operation of the totalitarian mind among current communist peace advocates are numerous.

In some trade unions precautionary measures have been taken. R. J. Thomas, President of the United Auto Workers (CIO) and a staunch non-interventionist, recently warned his union against use of the Quin pamphlet and recommended the distribution of

CIO antiwar material. Orders for thousands of copies were cancelled. In other unions, interventionists have taken advantage of the general mistrust of communists to point out that their vigorous advocacy of isolationism is a good reason for taking an opposite stand.

* * *

Man Friday

Accompanying the Communist organizational realignment is a new and well-financed popular weekly with the most innocent of all names—Friday. Its publisher and "angel" is D. S. Gillmor, a young man with apparently limitless financial resources. Publisher Gillmor is permitted to put his signature at the bottom of a weekly editorial in the manner of Bernarr MacFadden.

But the magazine is run by communists and fellow-travellers. Cameron Mackenzie, former editor of the People's Press, is executive editor. Ruth McKenney, former New Masses writer, and Richard O. Boyer are associate editors. Frederick Ellis of the Daily Worker contributes the editorial cartoon. Philip Stern, former Daily Worker photographer, is Friday's staff photographer. Communist writers and artists who contribute are Joe Jones, A. Redfield (Hoff), Earl Kerkam, Gropper, Harry B. Henderson Jr.

In its first issue, Friday featured Mike Quin's pamphlet—it "takes its place in the great tradition of American pamphleteering started by Thomas Paine." Such communist pets as Congressman Vita Marcantonio, President Michael Quill of the Transport Workers Union, Chairman Jack McMichael of the American Youth Congress, and Secretary Howard Costigan of the Washington Commonwealth Federation have also been featured. Friday's contents are mostly exposés, popular features and an antiwar article or two. So far Friday has shown no recognition of the existence of anti-war organizations or writers outside the communist network.

* * *

Danger

Leaders of the large and powerful anti-war organizations with programs rooted in American needs and in an anti-totalitarian conception of what Americans can do to help themselves and foreign peoples, are well informed of the Communist maneuvers. Though they are not worried now about communist infiltration, except in a few isolated spots, they are determined to differentiate their reasons for staying out of war from Communist and Nazi reasons. The national headquarters of the Keep America Out of War Congress, co-ordinating body for six long-established, nation-wide peace organizations, recently warned its affiliates against any form of cooperation with the Communists. The all too obvious danger is that at a later and more critical date interventionists will try to identify all anti-interventionist organizations as part of the Communist front.

It is this danger that makes it imperative to isolate the "peace policy" of Communists and Nazis and at the same time protect their right to advocate and organize for it.

Man's Tragedy Through...

(Continued from Page Seven)
within these forms trembling and without silhouette something vibrates. Everything is germinating and in a painful process of change. A birth is announced. There is blood and the cries of violent winds. Where are they going and where do they come from these harvester with sickles held high between the interrogation of the grinding mills? They are going to open the road for Man, the new Man, the Man of to-morrow. Everything in this world marches towards Man and Man is nothing as yet. It is a dramatic world, clamorous and bloody, but with a flag of hope flying as in all lands red with blood where the revolutionary seed has been buried.

See that picture. It seems as tho it were descending. It is one that apparently has more repose and where figures are more clearly seen. Nevertheless in it two fierce, contrary tempests converge. In it still breathe and live two worlds, two classes of men torn between by two opposing forces. One goes backward to its primitive animal origin with two civil guards and a secretary who refuses to get up or to march forward. The civil guard at the left of the picture is very nearly a gorilla, for he belongs to the darkness of the primeval forest in which he was born to the disgrace of itself. Like a lazy hulk; reaction is incarnate in these beings who fear the new problems of rejuvenated consciousness. The secretary is the meanest of persons, unusually odious and condemned by the Galician artist. Souto first painted him in the cap and gown of the XIX century. He should have left him thus retreating towards his rightful home, the cavern. The rest of the picture leads us forward, propelled by the winds of hope and martyrdom, of blood and sorrow. A Christ and women who weep: seed and irrigation for the dry and dusty land we have inherited.

I myself, in this picture... I am nothing but a poet of change and hope, my voice is not yet new nor is my language the one that yet will come. I am nothing but the seed of a poetry that hardly begins to break the crust of the earth. A promise. To-morrow, after me, after us will come the world and the ripened song that all of us are helping to bring into flower.

Leon FELIPE

(From the Spanish by L. Raymond)

COME TO THE FIRST SPRING OUTING at the Ferrer Colony SUNDAY, April 28, 1940

IN AID OF THE

Spanish Anarchist Refugees

There will be a Dinner at 2 p. m., to be followed, in the evening, by a DANCE.

Arranged by the

Kropotkin Group of Stelton, N. J.

Alexis C. FERM

At all events, whether you agree with the above or not, if possible, come to take part in our celebration during the month of May, whether on the 17th in New York, or on the 4th, 11th, 25th of May and the 1st of June in Stelton.

If perchance we have nothing to give to you, you may be able to give us something, and they say it is better to give than to receive.

However, we still have a strong suspicion that we have something to give.

Alexis C. FERM